

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## Studies of Planning Bodies Go Forward

Led by National Resources Committee, State and Local Bodies Examine Future Needs

### WASTE PREVENTION IS AIM

Agencies Are Looking for Ways to Conserve Country's Resources, Natural as Well as Human

We read now and then of a report which has been prepared by the National Resources Committee or in cooperation with it. The report may deal with soil conservation or flood control or farm tenancy, or with the planning of public works. Whatever the subject, it may seem a little too dry and uninviting to claim the attention of the newspaper reader whose interest is being fed by the more appealing stories of business recovery, industrial strife, or political controversy. The citizen who takes a long-range view of things, however, may see in the work of this committee, and the state and local committees which cooperate with it, something of very great significance; something that will affect deeply the future of the nation and the states and communities of which it is composed. Perhaps nothing that is going on in America today will turn out to be more important than the planning activities of these committees. We cannot be sure of this, of course. It all depends upon the extent to which the national government, the states, cities, and counties, make use of the information and the plans which are made available to them.

### The General Plan

This brings us to the question of what these planning bodies are; what they are doing, and what they may do. We may begin with the national organization. In 1934, a National Resources Board was set up by order of the President of the United States, to supply information so that the government might act more wisely in dealing with the nation's natural resources. The name of this body has since been changed to "National Resources Committee." It consists of the secretaries of the interior, war, agriculture, commerce, and labor, the federal relief administrator, and two other members, these two lay members being at present Frederic A. Delano and Charles E. Merriam.

Under the direction of this committee a staff of experts is at work gathering information about the nation's land and the uses to which it is put, devising the best means of conserving soil in the different sections of the country, planning the best use of the rivers and other water bodies, studying problems of improving navigation, preventing floods, utilizing water power, planning the conservation of mineral resources, planning needs for public works in the different parts of the country for years in advance, studying population movements, and making many other investigations.

It was thought when this national committee was established that state and local boards of a similar nature would be created and that the national organization would cooperate with them. That expectation has been realized. At present 47 of the 48 states have planning boards or committees, and so have 1,400 cities and towns and 400 counties. These local organizations are studying the needs of their communities.

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BLACK BLIZZARD

—Resettlement Administration Photo

Victims run for shelter in a dust storm. National, state, and local planning will be required to conquer the menace of flying dust.

## Conquering Our Fears

A wise and successful man who, despite heavy responsibilities, seemed always to find satisfaction and joy in life, when asked how he managed to be so carefree and unworried, made this reply: "It has always been a rule in our family never to discuss unpleasant things at the breakfast table or early in the morning. At the beginning of the day I throw myself into my work, pushing everything else aside. Then when I come to a resting time, I call to mind all the problems, difficulties, and annoyances that are tending to bother me. I take them up one by one. If an unpleasant situation has arisen, I face the facts openly and in a businesslike way try to figure out what can be done about it. If I decide that some action on my part would be helpful, I lay my plans for taking that action. Once the decision is made I do not allow myself to ponder over the matter longer or to bring the decision up for review. My best efforts went into making it, so I let it stand unless the facts change or new evidence appears. I consider this a very important part of the procedure, for most painful, peace destroying worry comes from indecision and from doubt about what is to be done. If, in the case of some problem, I decide that there is nothing I can do about it, I dismiss it from my mind. When I have given my best thought to the difficulties which are before me and have decided what to do about them or, in certain cases, that nothing can be done, I turn aside from the unpleasant situations and resume my work. The troubles which otherwise would worry and harass me are, to a great extent, conquered, because I give them my full attention at an appropriate time, but do not allow them to prey on my mind throughout my waking hours. I can keep them from breaking in on my thoughts because I have developed the satisfying feeling that I am already doing about them everything that can be done and that vague and indecisive and inactive attention to them would be worse than useless."

There is little to add to that formula for the conquering of our worries. Perhaps many of us would find it impossible to maintain such a rigid daily program, but each one would find, if he made the effort, that he could do much with himself by the exercise of will. It is a fact that fear, worry, and anxiety are fiends which prod us night and day, destroying peace of mind, hindering the acquisition of happiness, preventing life from being the satisfying experience it ought to be. The earlier in life one learns how to control these anxieties, most of which are quite groundless, the happier his life will be. If we face our difficulties openly and candidly, giving them a little concentrated attention instead of allowing them to hang constantly as shadows across our minds; if we take action when it can appropriately be taken and turn to other occupations when it cannot, we can dispel many of the clouds which darken our pathway.

## Major Powers Seek To Control Balkans

France and Russia, Germany and Italy Carrying Rivalry into Long-Disturbed Region

### MANY RACIAL ANTAGONISMS

But Balkan Leaders Are Beginning to Settle Their Disputes Peacefully and May Avoid Conflict

Events during the past few months have revived the fear that the Balkan peninsula again may be the scene of serious trouble, as it has been so often in the past. The struggle between the fascist and anti-fascist countries in western Europe is being carried into this southeastern corner of the continent. Inside the Balkan area, ancient racial antagonisms and political jealousies still are strong, and the countries which lost rights and territory as a result of the World War are trying to regain as much of these as they can. Before discussing this situation, however, it will be well to review the general background.

As the term "Balkans" is used today, it covers the eight countries shown in the map on page 2—Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece—though the first three of these are not, strictly speaking, in the Balkan peninsula. Together, these eight countries occupy about 433,000 square miles and have a population of a little over 77,000,000. This is about the same area as Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland combined; the population is about three-fifths that of these latter countries. Turkey still holds a small bit of land on the Balkan side of the Dardanelles.

The present boundaries of these countries were drawn in the treaties which ended the World War. The huge and unwieldy Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, consisting of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary and occupying more than half of this area, was broken up. Austria and Hungary were made into separate countries, each much smaller than it had been. Czechoslovakia was created out of territory that had been in the Dual Monarchy. Yugoslavia was put together out of the former countries of Serbia and Montenegro and a large slice of Austria-Hungary. Rumania was given part of the former Hungary and some of Bulgaria. The boundaries of Greece and Albania were not changed much, though the Greek boundaries were not settled until after the fighting with Turkey in 1922.

### Much Racial Conflict

The boundary lines were redrawn in this way on the principle of giving each main racial group in the Balkans its own country and government. To understand why this should have been thought important, we need to go back into Balkan history.

That history, since well before the time of Christ, has been one of almost constant fighting, with one wave of conquerors after another sweeping across the peninsula. The Romans fought their way in against the Parthians. Slavic tribes pushed down from what now is Russia. The Crusaders marched across the peninsula on their way to and from the Holy Land. The Mongols conquered most of it during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Turks overran it later, and held control until nearly the beginning of the twentieth century. As a result of all this, racially different groups are





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KURT SCHUSCHNIGG  
Chancellor of Austria.

scattered all over the Balkans, each with its own heroic traditions and each cherishing bitter memories of cruelty and oppression by the others. Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Magyars, Albanians, Montenegrans, Ruthenians, Rumanians, Bulgars, Greeks, Turks, Germans, Ukrainians, Jews—all these and others are there, inextricably mixed. Religious disagreements have added to the mutual distrust, with Roman Catholics, adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church, Protestants of various sects, and Mohammedans quarreling with one another.

If the people had been united and friendly, as they are in the United States, for example, this region might well have become a prosperous and highly civilized country. It has great plains which can produce ample food for all its people. Its mountains are richly forested, and their slopes furnish excellent pasture for sheep and cattle. It is rich in oil, coal, iron, and other essential minerals. It has a long coast line. Its climate is good, with neither too much nor too little rainfall, cold, or heat. The Danube River runs through it, providing an easily navigable highway from one end to the other, and lesser rivers give access to most of the other parts.

#### A Backward Region

Mainly because of the constant fighting and the age-old racial antagonisms, however, the Balkans have remained backward. Austria-Hungary, gradually expanding through the nineteenth century, brought a loose sort of order in the western part, and in Austria itself (including the western end of what is now Czechoslovakia) considerable industry and a high state of civilization developed, especially in the cities. But the rest of the Balkans, as Roger Shaw puts it, was "made up of loudly quarreling little states, unstable, half-civilized, militaristic, semi-bankrupt, ever at one another's throats." Except in western Austria, there was and still is almost no industry. Most of the people lived and still live very primitively, as hard-driven peasants on the plains or sheep and cattle herders in the mountains.

In the last part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the great European powers quarreled for control of the Balkan peninsula. Germany worked with Austria to push in from the west. Russia had French support in push-

ing down from the north. Each pulled strings from behind the scenes in the quarrels between the Balkan countries. Finally, a rabidly nationalistic Serbian student assassinated the heir to the Austrian throne. Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia. Russia backed Serbia in resisting. Germany supported Austria. France sided with Russia. Europe plunged headlong into the World War.

#### Postwar Problems

The war destroyed the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy and gave various racial groups a chance to assert themselves by joining the Allies. After the war, the Allies attempted to satisfy these racial ambitions by redrawing the boundaries and creating new states. But the peoples were so mixed that racial and political lines could not be made to correspond. Consequently, every one of the countries now contains "minorities" of people who are racially different from the majority, and these minorities are largest in the countries that profited from the war. The new boundaries left a good many Magyars in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, for example. Most of the people in Hungary, on the other hand, are Magyars. They are resentful both because so many Magyars were taken from Hungary in the rearrangement after the war and because they believe, with some justification, that those who were taken have been badly treated in their new countries. The Austrian Germans in Czechoslovakia are dissatisfied, and Austria wants them back. The Bulgars think they should have southeastern Yugoslavia because so many Bulgars live there. And so it goes all around the Balkans. Even the Slavic groups in Yugoslavia—the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes—do not get on well together because the Serbs, being the largest and

political lines did not cause as serious trouble as it would have if the Balkans had been more highly developed. But it brought a good deal of hardship nevertheless, and gave additional grounds for ill feeling.

With such a background, it is small wonder that the Balkans did not settle down peacefully after the war. Political upsets, frequently accompanied by assassinations, followed each other quickly in most of the countries. On several occasions, war came very near. Czechoslovakia, which aptly has been called "an island of democracy in a sea of dictatorships," was the only country that escaped such troubles.

#### Ententes Formed

As early as 1920, however, leaders in some of the Balkan countries saw the desirability of cooperation. In that year, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia agreed to help each other keep what they had gained from the war. This was the beginning of what is called the Little Entente. In later agreements, the governments arranged to act together in international relations, and a start was made toward getting rid of tariffs on each other's goods. France backed the Little Entente strongly. During the last year or so, however, Italian influence in Yugoslavia has made that country turn somewhat cool toward its partners; the Yugoslavs say they want to get clear of any ties with France, direct or indirect, which might drag them into a Franco-German war.

In 1934, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Greece, and Turkey signed treaties establishing the Balkan Entente. These countries agreed in effect to let bygones be bygones in their former disputes, and to deal as friends in the future. This was a long step toward peace and stability in the eastern part of the Balkans.



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EDUARD BENES  
President of Czechoslovakia.

Austria and Hungary want to upset the postwar arrangements. After the war, Austria was left with much too large a city (Vienna) and much too great an industrial system to be supported by the tiny territory left to her. She has to buy food, and has trouble selling her manufactures across the high tariff walls which surround her. Hungary lost more than half of her great central plain and most of her forests. She must buy timber, and even some food, instead of selling large amounts of both to pay for the manufactured goods she needs. Both countries are economically badly off.

Besides, the Austrians and Hungarians smart under the humiliating terms of the treaties which ended the war. Neither country is big enough to do by itself what Germany did—defy the world and throw off the humiliating restrictions. But for the last three years Mussolini has had Austria more or less under his wing and has encouraged the Austrians to repudiate these treaties. The Austrian chancellor even announced recently that Austria might restore the monarchy. Late last autumn, too, Mussolini made a spectacular display of friendship for Hungary by sending his son-in-law (who is Italy's foreign minister) there, and it was reported that Italy had promised to support Hungary in rearming in flat violation of the peace treaty.

With this Italian backing, to which German support has been added in the last few months, Austrians and Hungarians are demanding that the peace treaties be revised so as to give them back something of what they formerly possessed. These countries can get what they want territorially, however, only at the expense of their neighbors. Naturally, these neighbors oppose the Austrian and Hungarian demands. The demands are being made more and more insistently. The possibility of trouble is increasing proportionately.

#### Outside Interference

If the Balkan countries were left alone, they might be able to settle their disagreements peacefully. But they are not being left alone.

Immediately after the war, France secured a strong position in the western part of the region by organizing and backing the Little Entente. This gave her an "iron ring" around the former enemy countries of Austria and Hungary, and protected her against German attack through Czechoslovakia. She made large loans to the three Little Entente countries, mainly for military purposes, to secure their loyalty. Of the three, Czechoslovakia is the most exposed to danger from Germany, as the map shows, and her ties with France have been and still are closest.

During the last few years, Russia has settled what disputes she had with the Balkan countries, especially with Czechoslovakia and Rumania, and has established friendly relations with these two latter countries. She has wanted to make sure that they would resist a German attempt to reach her from the south. Her interests therefore run parallel to those of France, both in keeping a strong position in the northern

(Concluded on page 8, column 4)



CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

—Johnson

most advanced group, have more or less monopolized power. Altogether, the post-war settlements fell very far short of clearing up the racial difficulties in the Balkans. In addition, they created new economic difficulties.

Before the war, economic groupings had been slowly built up on the basis of the old political divisions. Austria and Hungary, for example, were an economic unit, with Austria supplying manufactured goods and Hungary furnishing food, timber, and other materials from its great central plain and heavily forested mountains. Now, Austria is top-heavy with industries while Hungary has almost no manufacturing, and both countries suffer seriously as a result. Railway lines and main highways were cut into several parts by the new boundaries, greatly reducing their usefulness. This complete disregard of established or natural economic divisions in drawing new po-

Bulgaria was invited to join this Balkan Entente but refused because the Bulgars felt that they had too many grievances left from their defeat in the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and from the World War, in which they sided with Germany. Bulgaria, however, recently has signed a treaty of "eternal friendship" with Yugoslavia, against which country she had the most serious grievances. She is expected to come into the Balkan Entente before long, and the present Bulgarian government has shown itself much more willing than any of its predecessors to be friends with its neighbors.

#### Austria and Hungary Dissatisfied

Albania has been almost completely dominated by Italy since the war. The country is so small and so undeveloped, however, that it counts for very little in Balkan affairs.

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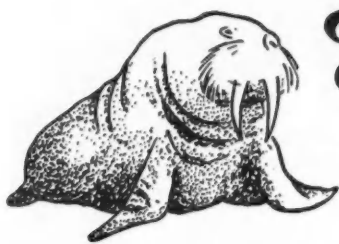
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# The Walrus

"The time has come, the walrus said, to talk of many things: of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax—of cabbages—and kings."

ONE of the interesting places in Washington is the Hay-Adams House, a small apartment hotel at the end of Sixteenth Street, across Lafayette Square from the White House. It is interesting because of its historical associations and also because it is one of the most frequented meeting places in the capital city at the luncheon hour for prominent government officials and others well known in public life. Late in the last century the corner where it stands was occupied by a double residence, one of the houses being the home of John Hay, secretary of state under McKinley and earlier a private secretary of Abraham Lincoln, while the other house was the home of Henry Adams, historian and essayist. When this historic structure was torn down and the present building was erected in its place, the name appropriately selected for the hotel was "Hay-Adams House."



FELIX MORLEY

Men from the State Department, located not far away, are always to be seen in the little dining room, and it is not unusual to observe the minister of a foreign government. The last time I dropped in for lunch I noticed, at adjacent tables, Charles E. Merriam, of the University of Chicago faculty, a member of the committee which has been working on plans for the administrative reorganization of the government; Charles Eliot, head of the staff of the National Resources Committee, grandson of Charles E. Eliot, famous Harvard president; Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institution; Donald Richberg, former administrator of the NRA; and Felix Morley, editor of the Washington Post.

Felix Morley, by the way, in the short period of about two years, has established a reputation as one of the country's outstanding editors. He had been editor of the Post but a short time when he received the Pulitzer prize for the best editorial contribution of the year. This was a merited award, for the Post's editorial page has been transformed under his direction. It has become so well informed, so thoughtful, and so fair as to command the respect of all parties and points of view. The page reflects the personality of the editor, for one would have to go a long way to find a man with Mr. Morley's capacity to examine a problem objectively, to study a controversial issue open-mindedly or to discuss it dispassionately and good-humoredly. No longer, in the light of his recent achievements, do people speak of him as "brother of Christopher Morley."



PAUL V. McNUTT

President Roosevelt's press conferences are well attended these days. Correspondents who are entitled to attend are afraid to miss one of the semiweekly sessions, lest they miss some sensational announcement. No one can predict what the President will do or what surprise he may have up his sleeve. The conferences are always interesting even though there are no important revelations, for Mr. Roosevelt is by no means a dull person, and his informal chats with the news gatherers are without exception characterized by cleverness and good humor and are frequently enlivened by a sparkle of wit. The Presi-

dent is endowed with a remarkable gift of poise. During these days of sharp controversy, few men in Washington are more outwardly calm and unruffled than he.

An interesting feature of the White House press conferences, which occur each Tuesday afternoon at 4:30 and each Friday morning at 10:00, is the period of a half hour or so of waiting in an outer room before the correspondents are admitted to the President's private office. This is a time of animated discussion, when the representatives of the different newspapers exchange information, speculate concerning probable developments, and debate the issues of the moment. The chief topic of conversation these days, about the White House as elsewhere, is the Supreme Court proposal.

One result of this controversy has been to stimulate interest in problems of constitutional history. Books on the Supreme Court and the Constitution are being widely read. A number have appeared from the press recently. From the point of view of those who are critical of the Court and its habit of declaring acts of Congress and state legislatures unconstitutional, the best and most popular recent book is "The Ultimate Power," by Morris Ernst (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Doran, \$3). An admirable statement of the conservative point of view is to be found in "Congress, the Constitution, and the Supreme Court," by Charles Warren (Boston: Little Brown, \$3.50). A very interesting, gossip book about the personalities of the Supreme Court justices, somewhat merciless in spots, is "The Nine Old Men," by Robert Allen and Drew Pearson (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50). Other valuable books are "Whose Constitution," by Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, \$1.75) favorable to a more liberal interpretation of the Constitution, and "Supreme Court or Political Puppets," by David Lawrence (New York: Appleton-Century, 50 cents), in defense of the conservative position.

The appointment of former Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana as high commissioner to the Philippines has started a buzz of comment about his availability as Democratic presidential candidate in 1940. Most of the comment which one hears is favorable. Governor McNutt is a relatively young man, 45 years old. He is handsome, dark-complexioned, with gray hair. He makes an excellent appearance on the platform and is an effective orator. He is popular among educators and frequently addresses teachers' meetings. He is a former commander of the American Legion. Mr. McNutt rose to high position politically from academic circles, having been dean of the Indiana University Law School. He is, nevertheless, a master of practical politics and built a very effective state machine. As governor, he proved himself an efficient administrator, chose his subordinates wisely, kept the schools and other institutions going during the depression. His chief handicap as a presidential possibility is the enmity of organized labor. Workers quite generally believe that he favored employers during strikes which occurred in Indiana during his administration.



"I notice that a United States senator is endorsing a certain brand of cigarettes," writes one of the readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. "Not long ago," the letter continues, "the name of one of the best-known women in American public life appeared in a similar endorsement. Are such advertisements genuine? Do these people whose names appear in the advertisements actually use the cigarettes which they endorse?"

I cannot answer the question with respect to the two persons to whom the letter refers. I do know, however, that many prominent people sell their names and endorsements to the cigarette companies, even though they may not be users of the particular brand. I have known personally of such cases. Not long ago a well-known athlete's endorsement of a cigarette was spread over newspapers all over the country. He was telling in the advertisements how good those cigarettes were for him. I happened to know that he did not smoke cigarettes at all. He refrained because he thought even moderate smoking might be injurious to him. His case is not unusual. Ordinarily an endorsement of a cigarette or tooth paste or soap or other nationally advertised merchandise is not to be taken even as evidence that the endorser uses the product. It is evidence only that he (or she) has received a fat check.

There is no question that the ethics of advertising leaves much to be desired, but standards are constantly rising. What about advertising, by the way, as a career to which young men and women may look? That question was asked by one of our readers a few days ago, and probably many students are interested.

There is, indeed, a large field and many opportunities. According to the United States Employment Service, there are fewer unemployed among advertising men and women than in almost any other class. Competition is increasing, but the fact that considerable talent is required will tend to restrict the number of competitors, so any person who feels suited for the work may look forward to it as confidently as he could to almost any other field.

The inexperienced writer of advertising copy generally starts at \$20 to \$30 a week. Advancement depends upon skill. Figures are not available for average wages of copy writers, but many make more than \$50 a week. One who succeeds as a copy writer may work upward to a position as advertising manager. The work of an advertising manager, whether in a store, a factory, a publishing office, or elsewhere, is to see that his product receives effective publicity. The average pay of advertising managers is about \$7,500 a year.

Many letters have come to THE AMERICAN OBSERVER from students who are worried over the prospects of getting jobs. There is little wonder when one reflects



ADVERTISING OFFERS PROMISING OPPORTUNITIES FOR A CAREER

upon the lack of opportunity during the depression years. There is no question, however, that the job situation will be easier during the next few years. I have just read a report prepared by the National Industrial Conference Board in which the prediction is made that there will be a serious shortage of workers throughout the nation within three years. This may overstate employment prospects somewhat, but it indicates an unquestioned trend.

—The Walrus



—Johnson  
THE CIGARETTES ARE SO GOOD FOR HIS THROAT—AND THE MONEY THE COMPANY HAS SENT HIM FOR THE ENDORSEMENT ISN'T SO BAD EITHER.

## SMILES

It appears that one thing that's holding back the Spanish war is that neither army speaks Spanish.  
—Macon (Ga.) TELEGRAPH

It is estimated that piled one on the other, the flood control plans already on file in Washington would make a dandy levee.  
—Atlanta CONSTITUTION

"I say, waiter, there's an ant in my soup."  
"Surely not, sir; maybe it's one of those vitamin bees you hear so much about."  
—Edinburgh DISPATCH



"YOU'LL HAVE TO PARDON HIM. HE THINKS IT'S A FEED BAG"  
—Berry in Collier's

A new gun has been invented which, when fired, takes a snapshot of the object fired at. What we need now is a fishing rod which will automatically photograph each fish it hauls to the surface.  
—London ADVERTISER

Since reading that Mr. Roosevelt often sees five or six movies a week, little Willie has begun to take some stock in that old one about growing up to be president.  
—Boston HERALD

A statistician says, "There are nearly two million golfers in the United States alone." They ought to be.  
—Washington POST

New York dealers are now accused of "watering" meat to increase its weight. Naturally the purchaser of the doctored commodity gets soaked.  
—Philadelphia EVENING BULLETIN

An upland philosopher says that a smart man never tells all he knows when he gets into an argument. This is only half of it. A smart man never gets into an argument.  
—Chester (Pa.) TIMES

A junior dean at Ohio State contends that love affairs are chiefly responsible for students flunking courses. It seems a little yearning is a dangerous thing, too.  
—Worcester GAZETTE

Benjamin Franklin wrote: "Only two things in this life are certain . . . death and taxes." What the taxpayer resents so deeply is that they don't come in that order.  
—PUNCH

According to the way an American thinks, if he can't save any money it isn't because he's spending too much, but because he isn't making enough.  
—St. Louis STAR-TIMES

Waiter: "Would you mind settling your bill, sir?"  
Patron: "But I haven't been served yet."  
Waiter: "In that case there'll be only the cover charge."  
—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR





"THANK YOU JEEMS"

Postmaster General James A. Farley was given a testimonial dinner recently in recognition of his accomplishments in behalf of the Roosevelt administration. Left to right (seated): Mr. Farley, President Roosevelt, and Vice-president Garner. (Standing): Secretaries Morgenthau, Roper, Hull, Woodring, and Wallace.

© Harris and Ewing

## Britain's Policy

Great Britain has decided to spend \$7,500,000,000 on a huge armaments-building program to be concluded within five years. The money will be raised partly through loans, partly through increased taxation, and will be used to mechanize the army, increase the air force, and expand the navy. The latter item will be the most important. During the fiscal year beginning in April, construction will begin on three new battleships, seven swift cruisers, and two aircraft carriers.

Thus, the factor of force has been injected more than ever into European politics. For many years after the war, the British relied on their diplomatic prestige and on the machinery of the League of Nations, over which they had great influence, to maintain their powerful position among the nations of Europe. Successive governments promoted the cause of disarmament and the peaceful settlement of disputes and, in process, Britain's military strength was placed in a secondary position.

It is argued that had Britain used her influence more wisely, she might not now be finding it necessary to pour her resources into war materials. However, the fact remains that today the League is discredited, and that the

certainty, the British prime minister said that his government would devote its efforts to negotiating a treaty which will take the place of the Locarno Pact—the treaty which guaranteed the frontiers of western Europe and which was destroyed by Germany's remilitarization of the Rhineland.

## The Court Issue

Administration forces have revised their tactics in the effort to secure enactment of President Roosevelt's judiciary program by Congress. The first intention had been not to rush matters and to permit the force of public opinion, upon which the administration confidently counts, to swing the tide in its favor. But the swift mobilization of the opposition in and out of Congress, together with the prospects of filibuster late in the session, has made the President decide to press for early action on his proposed legislation.

Mr. Roosevelt remains determined to accept no compromise so far as the essential details of his plan are concerned. There is a possibility, however, that he may agree to the submission of a constitutional amendment, increasing the powers of Congress, along with the passage of his judiciary reform plan. The purpose of this concession would be to win the support of liberals and progressives in Congress who have been urging an amendment, and to still the voices of more conservative opponents who have criticized the President's plan as indirect, and who say he should have suggested an amendment.

Meanwhile there have been various expressions of organized opinion with regard to the Court plan. Almost all organized labor has declared itself in favor of the President's plan; this includes the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., and the separate declarations of many unions affiliated with these two major groups. With the exception of the National Grange, most farm organizations have also fallen into line, led by the American Farm Bureau Federation. A poll taken by the *Christian Science Monitor* indicates that 50 out of 75 newspapers which supported President Roosevelt in his campaign for reelection are opposed to the Court scheme. Preliminary reports in a poll being conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion showed opinion to be fairly evenly divided, with a slight margin in favor of the President's proposal.

## Naval Construction

The announcement of Great Britain's new \$7,500,000,000 naval-construction program has already had its repercussions in the United States, where it seems likely that the American navy will join the race in order to maintain parity with British building. For the present, no new appropriations will be asked for by the Navy Department, but every effort is being made to secure adequate supplies of steel to continue work on cruisers and submarines already under construction in navy yards.

Some time ago, the Navy advertised for bids from private companies on 25,000,000 pounds of steel, but these were secured for only 7,000,000 pounds. The reason for this was not a shortage of steel in the United States,

# The Week in the

## What the American People

but a requirement in the Walsh-Healey Act that materials used in the navy yards be produced in plants operating on a 40-hour week or less. Since most steel plants were not operating on a 40-hour basis, they were ineligible to send in bids to the department.

Under the new program, British firms will probably buy large quantities of steel in the United States, stimulating American steel production, but also driving up the price of steel. Therefore, it has become imperative that the Navy acquire bids for steel before this happens. When Secretary Perkins refused to exercise her right as secretary of labor to suspend the 40-hour provision in this case, allowing the Navy to accept bids from plants operating on a 44-hour basis, an appeal was made to the great steel corporations to shift to a 40-hour basis. It is reported that the Carnegie Steel Corporation has complied with this request. Other firms may follow the lead of this large producer.

## Crop Insurance

President Roosevelt last week submitted to Congress a plan for crop insurance which, he believes, will help to provide a permanent solution to the problem of preventing wide fluctuations in prices of farm products and incomes



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**TELEVISION MOVES FORWARD**  
Increasingly successful tests are being made in the broadcasting of television programs. This is the new 441-line receiving set developed by Philco.

of farmers. The present report covers only wheat, and if experience proves the plan to be practicable, it will probably be extended to other farm products.

Under this plan, farmers would take out insurance at seeding time on any part of their crop up to three-fourths the normal yield of their land. They would then pay premiums either in money or in produce, on this insurance until harvest time or until some disaster had destroyed the crop. If the final yield proved to be smaller than the crop for which the farmer was insured, he would be paid the number of bushels of wheat necessary to make up the difference out of government storage stocks. In some cases payments might be made in cash equivalents, but the basis of payment would always be bushels of wheat, regardless of the market price. The aim would be stabilization of the farmer's crop rather than stabilization of the price which he would receive for it. Any price stabilization which resulted would be the indirect result of the steadier flow of wheat on to the market.

## Blockading Spain

After six months of vain effort to keep foreign volunteers from participating in the Spanish civil war, 26 nations represented in the London Non-Intervention Committee have finally signed an agreement cutting off further aid to either side. To see that the pact is adhered

to, a blockade of the Spanish seacoast is to be established on March 6 and patrolled by an international fleet. This agreement was reached when Portugal withdrew her earlier opposition to having her borders subjected to international patrol.

Troops already in Spain will not of course be withdrawn. Reliable estimates indicate that there are 40,000 Italians and 20,000 Germans with the rebels and about half that total number, made up of many nationalities, aiding the loyalists. The willingness of Germany



TO HONOR  
Architect's drawing of the proposed memorial to the war dead, to be comparable in size and splendor to the Lincoln Memorial.

and Italy to sign this agreement at this time, though each had always interposed insuperable obstacles before, is explained by the fact that both Hitler and Mussolini believe that Franco has enough support to assure his ultimate victory.

In London, it is maintained that the danger of a European war, arising out of the Spanish issue, is now definitely eliminated. The Spaniards will now be left to fight among themselves until either one side crushes the other or both become thoroughly exhausted. There is no indication that this point has yet been reached. During the last week, as fierce a struggle as ever has been taking place for the control of the Valencia-Madrid road with a decisive advance credited to neither combatant.

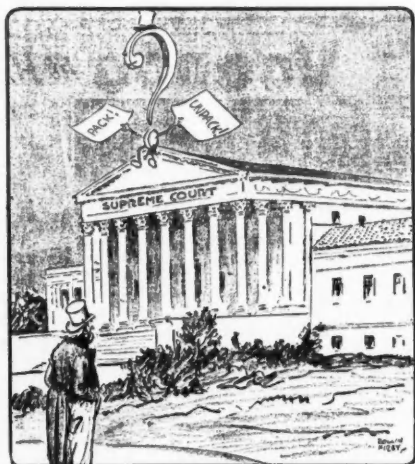
## Manuel Quezon

The little wiry man who is the president of the Philippine Commonwealth and the greatest advocate of Philippine independence, Manuel Quezon, is arriving in Washington this week to take part in conversations with President Roosevelt and the new high commissioner to the Philippines, Paul McNutt, on the status of the islands during the 10-year period of probation which is to precede complete independence. When Quezon was elected first president of the Commonwealth in 1935, it



© Wide World

**CONCESSIONS WANTED**  
President Manuel Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth is in the United States to confer with President Roosevelt and other government officials in an effort to protect Philippine trade with the United States. He is shown with his daughter.



SOME SAYS ONE THING AND SOME  
SAYS ANOTHER  
—Kirby in N. Y. World-Telegram

dictators by their threatening tactics are on the road to ever-increasing power. And so the British are finally turning to their neglected defenses and are preparing to meet threats of force with threats of force. They hope thereby to rebuild their prestige and once more make the warning finger of Britain something to be feared.

It is not clear whether Great Britain now means to drop the League of Nations completely. Chancellor of the Exchequer Neville Chamberlain, who is considered likely to succeed Baldwin after the coronation, has indicated that such would be the case. But Prime Minister Baldwin insists that "the government has not lost hope." He declares that Britain will keep her faith in the League of Nations, and that by being strong she will be of more help to Geneva than she could by remaining weak and unarmed. As an earnest of his sin-

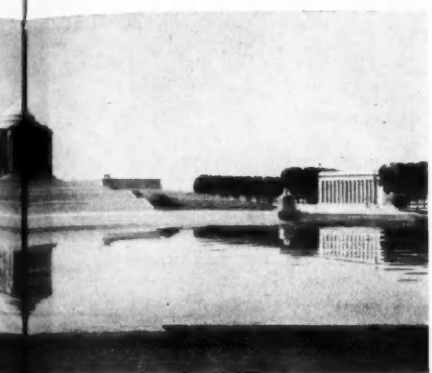


# The United States

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking

seemed that his long fight for independence was finally reaching a successful climax; but more trouble is ahead.

Tariff barriers are being raised against Philippine exports to the United States which formerly came in free; the time is nearing when the islands will have to defend themselves without the assistance of American forces; Japanese capital is already penetrating the islands and Japanese troops might move in when the Americans leave. As the people begin to realize what independence will mean for them,



© Harris and Ewing

ON FEBRUARY 20, the Jefferson, to be erected in the nation's capital. It will please the famous Lincoln Memorial.

they are less enthusiastic over the prospect of freedom. Hence Quezon, mindful that his popularity hangs in the balance, has come to the United States in an effort to secure concessions which will ease the burdens of complete independence for the islands.

### Education in Japan

Though the political and military factions of Japan may disagree, violently at times, upon specific methods, they are entirely in accord upon their ultimate objective to have their country become the uncontested power of the Far East. And in the pursuit of that aim, they make use of every available means, not the least of which is education. Willard Price, writing in the *London Literary Quarterly*, sums up these efforts with the statement that Japanese youth is being schooled to rule. There are schools for soldiers and sailors, for aviators and mechanics, for tradesmen and manufacturers, and at every one of these institutions the emphasis is not so much upon learning a trade because it will give the young person a career, as upon the fact that he will be able to do his part in making Japan supreme in the markets of the world.

So convinced are the Japanese that through education they can become a nation of rulers, that their country exceeds every other in the

matter of school attendance, 99½ per cent of all the children of school age are being enrolled in one or another institution. Their training is rigorously nationalistic and militaristic. Several hours each week are given over to teaching worship of the emperor cult, of unswerving obedience to the state, and of the glory of sacrifice. Uniforms are worn at school, the dormitories are kept chilly and the food is simple, so the students will become inured to the Spartan life. Four-fifths of the teachers are men, and they are all soldiers who take the youngsters through the discipline of the goose-step and subject them to strenuous exercises in extremes of weather. The courses are stiff and so many students find it difficult to pass the examinations, that more than 3,000 each year, out of shame, commit suicide.

### Coal

Facts and figures, not tear gas and bricks, are the weapons with which representatives of labor and management are combating each other in one of the most significant of the country's industrial disputes now being threshed out in the fashionable Biltmore Hotel in New York City. On one side are officials of the United Mine Workers of America,



© Acme

OFFICIAL FOR THE CORONATION  
King George VI and Queen Elizabeth recently posed for this photograph. It has been approved as the official photograph for the coronation ceremonies.

headed by their president, John L. Lewis. On the other side are representatives of the coal operators in the bituminous mining region. The object of these discussions is to establish a new wage agreement covering the work of more than 400,000 workers to replace the present agreement which expires next month.

Like most industrial disputes, this one centers around the demand of the employees for increased pay. The chief demand of the union is for a guarantee of 200 days' pay a year for every miner, which would mean a minimum annual wage of about \$1,200. The owners have agreed that this is no more than the workers should receive, but have put forth a great collection of statistics to prove that the industry "can't stand it." They say that wages cannot be raised without increasing the price of coal, and that competition with oil, natural gas, and hydro-electric power is already so keen that a further price increase will mean loss of markets, loss of profits, and loss of jobs. The union officials, on the other hand, point out that the industry is suffering from uncontrolled competition and price-cutting, and tell the owners if they would only manage their business better they could pay higher wages and still make profits.

### John G. Winant

The resignation of Mr. Winant from the Social Security Board, of which he has been chairman since its creation in October 1935



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### "PROPAGANDA FOR THE RETURN OF GERMAN COLONIES"

Masked dancers representing members of the "Duk Duk" secret society of the Pacific Islands lost to Germany by the Versailles Treaty, photographed as they danced through the streets of Düsseldorf, Germany, during a carnival parade. Their banner announces that they "wish to be once more among Germany's laughing people."

(except for a short period last fall), has been expected for some time. It was therefore no surprise when this resignation occurred last week. Although he has severed formal connection with the administration, Mr. Winant will continue to be one of the President's most valued advisers. His name has frequently been mentioned in connection with the Department of Social Welfare, the creation of which was recommended by the President in his plan for reorganization of the executive departments. Mr. A. J. Altmeyer, who was already a member of the board, succeeds Mr. Winant in the chairmanship. The vacancy has been filled by the appointment of Mr. Murray Latimer, the chairman of the Railway Retirement Board.

### Youth Congress

A mass meeting of young people took place in Washington to petition Congress to pass a bill supported by Senator Lundeen and Congressmen Maverick and Voorhis. Many young people's organizations, such as the YMCA, the YMHA, and the American Student Union, as well as settlement houses and trade unions, sent delegates to the congress.

On the first evening of the congress, the delegates heard Joseph Lash demand that the appropriation of \$500,000,000, for which the bill provides, be passed so that new public works might be started, giving employment and vocational guidance to American youth. Not only public works but scholarships for promising young men and women would be awarded under the appropriation. The lack of experience and the lack of funds which hinders many young people makes it necessary, this group thinks, to separate youth projects from those for the benefit of all distressed people.

On February 20, a large body of delegates paraded in the streets of Washington, unhindered by police until about 500 of them tried to stage a sit-down near the White House. Some of the leaders, including William Hinckley, who sponsored the congress, were arrested, but they were later released and the charges against them were dropped. President Roosevelt received a group of delegates and told them that while their proposals went too far to secure his approval, the demonstration had served a good purpose by calling attention to the needs of American youth.

### Immigration

Recently the House Immigration Committee held hearings on a bill introduced by its chairman, Congressman Dickstein of New York, to limit the entry of foreign artists into the United States. If this bill should pass, it would exclude from the stage, from the screen, and from concerts, all foreign artists except those who could prove to immigration authorities that their talents could not be duplicated in the United States.

The sponsor of the bill claims that this would keep out about 1,000 persons each year, making many more positions of this kind available to American citizens. Among the foreign artists, the congressman states, are also many who had been brought into the country by motion-picture producers and then discharged

for one reason or another. These people become public charges and absorb some of the relief funds to which American citizens should have first right. In addition, Congressman Dickstein feels that the United States should adopt this measure in protest against British discrimination against American artists.

Many distinguished musicians and some representatives of the motion-picture industry appeared in opposition to the bill. Walter Damrosch and others pointed out that the measure would deprive American audiences of many of their favorite artists. Lawrence Tibbett supported the bill but thought some modifications should be included. The Actors' Equity Association would also like to see some modification allowing foreign companies like the D'Oyly Carte to enter. Most unqualified in their opposition are the motion-picture producers, who are afraid that the bill will bring retaliation in many European countries where American pictures find a large export market.

A series of radio plays entitled "Let Freedom Ring," describing the development of American civil rights, is now being presented over the stations of the Columbia network each Monday, at 10:30 p. m., eastern standard time. These sketches are prepared by the United States Office of Education.



"THE AGRICULTURAL LADDER—HAS BECOME A TREADMILL"—F. D. R.

—Doyle in New York Post

The first one, telling the story of the Bill of Rights, was given last Monday evening. There are 12 others yet to come, dealing with such liberties as Freedom of the Press, Free Speech, Religious Freedom, Right of Petition.

The Civilian Conservation Corps planted 50 per cent more trees and seedlings during the past year than they did in 1935, and three times as many as were planted by all agencies, public and private, during any year prior to 1933 when the CCC was created. The total number was 460,000,000.

Other interesting figures from statistics just compiled by the Census Bureau show that since the CCC began work more than a billion trees have been planted and about a million acres of land have been reforested. This reforestation program will not only add greatly to the nation's future lumber supply but will also aid in protecting watersheds, preventing floods, and controlling soil erosion.



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### A PREMIER AT HOME

Premier Senjuro Hayashi of Japan, who plans to pursue a middle-of-the-road policy in his direction of Japanese affairs. This photograph was taken as he studied the formation of his new cabinet.



## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### The Labor Movement in U. S. History

FROM the close of the Civil War to the end of the century, the student of history finds a clear-cut and consistent development of American business enterprise. Corporations increased in size and in power. The industrial and financial barons of the period were cocksure of themselves and of their opportunities, and they marched ever forward. But as one turns to the history of the workers, one finds no such definite and consistent course of action or line of development. The history of organized labor in the United States is filled with confusion, contradiction, ineffectiveness. At times, the workers sought to gain their ends by engaging directly in politics. At other times, they shunned direct political action. Again they were motivated by a lofty idealism. During certain stages in the development of organized labor, the unions sought



DAVID S. MUZZEY

to encompass all workers, male and female, white and colored, skilled and unskilled, in a great mass movement. Later, the movement was confined to the skilled workers, organized into craft unions. All these things are essential to an understanding of the role which organized labor is today playing in American economic life.

There was a fairly general feeling among workers, in the years following the Civil War, that some sort of organization was necessary if their interests were to be safeguarded in a world of gigantic industrial corporations. The labor union was not, of course, a product of the post-Civil War period. It had been known long before. But it was in the years following the War Between the States that the movement really became national in scope. Moreover, the shortage of man power caused by the war itself placed labor in a more advantageous position than it had been previously. Thus we find, during the sixties and the seventies, that the labor movement became an important factor in industrial relations.

The first national organization of labor unions, the National Labor Union, had an ill-fated career. Its program lacked consistency and failed to take account of the needs of labor in a new industrial era. It was as much interested in currency legislation and general social reform as in action designed immediately to improve the lot of workers. The importance of the Union lies in the fact that it was an attempt to organize labor on a national confederation basis and that it was a forerunner of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, both of which have played important roles in the history of American labor.

#### Knights of Labor

The Knights of Labor, organized in 1869, is significant because it was an attempt to organize all workers, skilled and unskilled. The principle of industrial unionism dominated the movement, in sharp contrast to that of craft unionism which had theretofore been the outstanding characteristic of organized labor. It was thus a mass movement, endeavoring to bring all workers, without distinction, into labor unions. In the eighties it was a potent force throughout the country, its membership having reached 700,000 by 1886. It called and won a number of important strikes and became the voice of labor. But this success acted as a boomerang, as the Knights frequently called strikes without adequate preparation and financing and failed to win their ends. Moreover, the aggressiveness of the movement alarmed many industrialists who resorted to rigid tactics to defeat the workers.

Perhaps the most important cause for

the decline of the Knights of Labor, however, arose from the fact that they united skilled and unskilled workers in a single organization. The craft unions were often called upon to bear more than their share of the burden when strikes failed, for they found that they could not easily find employment afterward. The unskilled workers, on the other hand, could easily shift from one job to another. Moreover, the craft unionists, being specialized or skilled workers, quite naturally felt that their interests would best be served by an organization which did not take in all the "riff-raff" of labor. And since there were many craft unions which did not belong to the Knights, it was an easy matter for them to win over those within the organization when ill luck befell the Knights.

The American Federation of Labor may thus be considered the natural outgrowth of the disintegration of the Knights of Labor. The men who organized the A. F. of L. were primarily interested in securing higher wages and better working conditions for the skilled laborers. They sought to create a monopoly of the jobs so as to enhance their bargaining position.

The American Federation of Labor was thus founded on the principle of craft unionism. It regarded the strike as the major weapon by which skilled workers could make their demands felt by employers, and it sought to obtain agreements with employers whereby wages, hours of work, and other working conditions would constantly be improved. It stood opposed to direct political action, except insofar as it was anxious to assist those politicians who were the friends of labor and punish its enemies.

#### A. F. of L. Philosophy

Being conservative and representing mainly the upper crust of labor, the A. F. of L. has never represented more than a fraction of the total working population of the country. Its membership reached a peak in 1920 with slightly over five million organized workers. Even at this peak, four-fifths of the workers of the nation were unorganized. Following the postwar peak, the membership declined, and labor failed to make the gains which its friends hoped it would make. There are many reasons for this, the main ones being summarized by Hacker and Kendrick in their "The United States Since 1865" as follows:

(1) Mechanization, which was destroying skills and rendering the old craft distinctions obsolete. With organized labor's refusal to change from a craft to an industrial basis, its chances for winning over the country's great body of workers became increasingly slighter. (2) Welfare capitalism (that is to say, company health, recreational, and insurance programs), which sought to give the workers at least the same benefits as were offered by the unions. (3) The open shops and company unions. (4) Yellow-dog contracts [contracts by which workers promised not to join unions], as a result of which unions might be enjoined from organizing those individual workers who had signed such agreements with their employers. (5) The refusal on the part of unions to admit into their memberships Negro workers. (6) Labor injunctions, which placed serious obstacles in the path of unions engaged in industrial disputes.

It was this failure of organized labor to make gains that led to the movement for a radical change in basic policy: the movement for industrial unionism. While certain members of the A. F. of L. were industrial unions, the craft union philosophy still dominated. Men like John L. Lewis started a drive for industrial unionism, formed the Committee for Industrial Organization, were suspended from membership in the federation, and began their drive to organize the workers in the mass-production industries. The recent strike in the General Motors plants is but one chapter in that drive. The results of their efforts will constitute the next important chapter in the history of American labor.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH IN "SOUTH TO SAMARKAND"

## Among the New Books

### Valuable Help

"Political Handbook of the World: 1937," edited by Walter H. Mallory (New York: Published by Harper & Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations. \$2.50).

THOSE who find themselves confused, and there are few who are not, by the apparently incessant changes of government throughout the world, cannot afford to be without this invaluable reference work. In admirably concise form, it brings up to date the essential facts about each country, detailing its political leaders, the composition of parties, their representation in the government and their differing views. Moreover, the chief newspapers and periodicals of each land are listed with brief descriptions of their influence and their quality. Finally, there are several pages devoted to the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Office.

### Treasure Hunters

"Pirate Treasure," by Harold T. Wilkins. Illustrated (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3).

SUNK off the New England and Florida coasts in the scuttled ships of pirates; mysteriously hidden in the caves of Peru; under Mexican scarpments; among the desolate cities of central Asia and beneath numerous other patches of the earth are treasures reputed to be worth over 11 billion dollars. And Mr. Wilkins tells you where they are. That is, almost where; for the charts and trails are elusive. It is possible that you might chance upon some of this lost wealth in the form of silver dollars, shekels, pesos, gems, or chalices of rare worth. But to search them out is an all but impossible task. The author tells of the long line of adventurers who have been lured by this bait, only to be doomed to disappointment and lingering death. Theirs is a story of intrigue and



FROM THE JACKET OF "PIRATE TREASURE"

romance which can put a season's entire stock of mystery novels to scorn and which, in Mr. Wilkins' excellent account, they do, with banners flying.

### Pleasantly Unpretentious

"Sacrifice to the Graces," by Arthur Meeker, Jr. (New York: D. Appleton-Century. \$2).

AS CHALET tucked in the Swiss Alps as its setting, this pleasantly unpretentious novel concerns a young American opera star of the late nineteenth century who finds the road to romance rather difficult sledding. Mary Louisa Randall has just completed a triumphant tour of European concert halls, and her happiness is about complete when she learns that her fiancé has fallen in love, seemingly true love, with her most intimate friend. In despair, certain that her career has ended, Miss Randall retires to her Swiss refuge to seek, in isolation, the peace and quiet which the hectic world seemed unable to give her. There, from friends, she gets a new perspective of things and learns that to get on with people you cannot be self-centered, that you must give as much as you receive.

### Journey Through Russia

"South to Samarkand," by Ethel Mannin. Illustrated (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3.50).

IN THE jacket blurb of this book, the publishers note that it will have "an especial appeal to women who are tired of modern civilization." Why the publishers should thus discourage a vast potential market of women who are not tired of civilization and of sensible men who have no opinion either way is not readily understandable. For this account of a journey through Russia to the golden gates of Samarkand, in Turkestan, has so much sheer information, pleasantly administered, that he would be dull indeed who would unreluctantly lay it aside for a second sitting. It is not that Miss Mannin writes with unalloyed distinction; indeed, her style is sometimes rather limping and somewhat in need of rhetorical, if not grammatical, crutches. But her eye for the colorful, the revealing, and the entertaining is so sure, it would take a singularly untutored stylist, which Miss Mannin is not, to rob it of all it has seen.

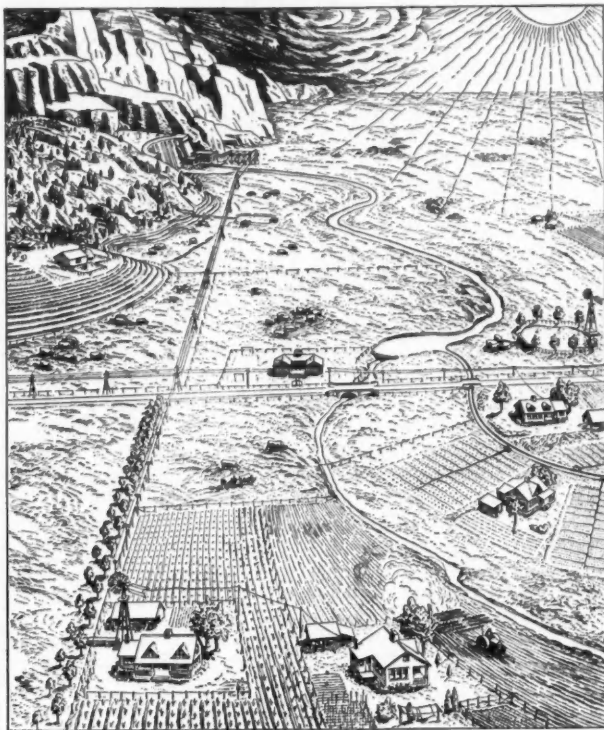
Thoroughly urbane, the author does not find Russia entirely to her liking. She is frankly annoyed by the intense preoccupation of the Russians with economic problems, by the sameness with which they all lead to the question, "And what is the condition of the workers in England?" and by their unwillingness to admit that the Soviet is subject to the same human frailties which make capitalist countries what they are.





THE GREAT PLAINS OF THE PRESENT

"Today we see foothills shorn of timber, deeply gullied, useless or rapidly losing their fertile soil under unwise cultivation; the fertile earth itself drifts with the wind in sand hills and in dust clouds; where once the grass was rank, cattle nibbled it to the scorched roots; the water of streams and the ground waters too often irrigate poor land, leaving the richer thirsty; the plow ignores Nature's 'Keep Off' signs; communities, for all the courage of their people, fall into decay, with poor schools, shabby houses, the sad cycle of tax sales, relief, aimless migrations." (From the report of The Great Plains Committee.)



THE GREAT PLAINS OF THE FUTURE

"The land may bloom again if man once more makes his peace with nature. Careful planting will give him back the foothill trees; terracing will save lush foothill farms; a wise use of the land will restore grass for controlled grazing; fewer and larger farms on scientifically selected sites may yield under the plow a comfortable living; dams will hold back the waters from rains and melting snow, giving power and control the flow of life-giving streams; springs may be developed, water pumped by windmills to water cattle, moisture held in the soil by scientific methods of tillage; by such means the life of man on the land may be made happier, more prosperous, more secure."

## The Future of the Great Plains Area

Elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, the broader aspects of the subject of planning—national, state, and local—are discussed in connection with the work of the National Resources Committee. An excellent example of the work that is being done by various committees, with which the central national body is cooperating, is afforded in the recent report of the Great Plains Committee. The report is called "The Future of the Great Plains" and was prepared by a special committee appointed by the President as a result of the drought of last summer. It was hoped that ways and means might be found to prevent the great damage which comes to a large section of the United States in years of drought, such as in 1934 and again last summer.

Everyone knows that there is something wrong with the region of plains, lying to the eastward of the Rocky Mountains. That fact was well advertised by the great droughts of 1934 and 1936. There is a large section, consisting of most of North and South Dakota, western Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, where the people are in desperate circumstances. A large proportion of them are on relief. During the three years from 1933 to 1936, the federal government had spent an amount averaging about \$1,000 per family for the whole region, and relief still continues.

### Causes of Trouble

The causes and the nature of the trouble are not so well known. Are the several million people in the plains country suffering merely from a temporary condition, or are the difficulties likely to be permanent? This question has been asked many times. At first the most common answer was that it was merely a matter of droughts. There had been two or three bad years, but the region would recover from them just as the rest of the country would recover from the depression.

After a while we began to hear more pessimistic reports. The climate was changing, we were told, and the central part of the nation was to become a vast desert. It was pointed out that the same thing had happened in other parts of the world. Once prosperous cities along the Tigris and Euphrates had sunk beneath the ever-devouring desert sands. The same thing might happen here.

Well, what are the facts, and what can be done about them? That is not a question that the drought-ridden farmers could answer, but it was the sort of question which a committee of trained investigators are prepared to deal with. So the Great Plains Committee was appointed and set to work. It has now made its report, a report of nearly 200 closely packed double column pages, which comes to these conclusions.

The climate in central United States is not changing. There are cycles of relatively plentiful rainfall, however, followed by dry years, just as there have always been. There was a dry cycle from 1825 to 1865. During this time there was a rainfall of less than 20 inches a year, which is the amount required to support crops in that region. Some years, during this time, were relatively wet and others very dry, but the average was low in rainfall. From 1865 to 1905 there was a wet cycle. There were years of drought during this period, but the average was more than 20 inches of rain a year.

### Past and Present

The plains region was settled during the wet cycle, so for many years after the settlers came in from the east central states to make their homes in the Dakotas, western Kansas, and Nebraska, they got along very well. They could, year after year, make a living. They used the same methods to which they had been accustomed in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and other states from which they came. They plowed the land and raised wheat. They raised great droves of cattle and pastured the unplowed pastures intensively. They lived on relatively small farms. And they got on fairly satisfactorily.

Then came a dry cycle, and more frequently than before, there were droughts. These dry years were disastrous, for the grasslands had been plowed, the earth was loose, and the winds swept the dust into the heavens and carried it across the nation. The best of the soil was being blown away. Even the grasslands suffered, for they had been too closely eaten down by the herds.

It appears, therefore, that the plains region, as a whole, cannot sustain the present population regularly and permanently so long as the present farming methods are continued. If things go on as they are now going, the plains will turn into desert. But

it will not be because the climate has changed. It will be because the plains were never suited to the methods of agriculture which are being used. They could never stand such methods except for a short time; a period such as was experienced shortly after the settlement.

But it is not necessary that the plains come to that unhappy end, for something can be done about it. It can be done provided there is a wise cooperation among federal government, state governments, local governments, and the people themselves. The Great Plains Committee makes suggestions concerning the program which should be carried out.

### Remedial Suggestions

Here are some of the suggestions: Much of the land should not be plowed and sowed to wheat or other grains, but should be put to grass and should be used for stock raising. If this is done, a farmer must have a rather large farm in order to make a living. Hence the size of farms should be increased. Here is one place that the federal government may help. It can lend money to farmers at low interest rates and with a long time to pay. This will help the farmers to buy more land and operate larger units. Of course, if they get the larger farms they should be required to use methods which will conserve the soil. And that is where the state and local governments may step in. They may zone rural regions just as cities zone their territory, prescribing what may or may not be done in specified areas. The local governments may thus prevent a dangerous or uneconomic use of land.

These are merely typical illustrations of what the different branches of government may do to bring about better conditions in the dust-blown plains states. Many other suggestions are made. The national government, for example, may include the following undertakings in its program:

It should make further investigation to determine the best use of land in the different localities and should canvass the best means of checking soil erosion. It should purchase lands which are unsuitable for cultivation. This will stop the plowing of the land and will check the blowing away of the soil. The government may turn the land it buys into grazing areas or may turn it to other appropriate uses. It should help families which are in a help-

less condition to resettle under more favorable circumstances.

The states also have a responsibility. They should, for example, encourage co-operative associations, so that numbers of farmers might go together and farm great tracts of land. Many kinds of land cannot well be cultivated as small farms. The states should also revise their tax laws so as to relieve poor lands of excessive burdens.

There are many things that local subdivisions may do by way of carrying out the programs of rural reorganization. But the whole undertaking will prove successful only if individual farmers themselves cooperate, terrace their land so as to prevent erosion.

"In a sense," the report concludes, "the Great Plains afford a test of American ways of dealing with matters of urgent common concern. They have not responded favorably to a purely individualistic system of pioneering. The committee is confident that they will respond to an altered system which will invoke the power of voluntary cooperation without sacrificing any of the virtues of local initiative and self-reliance."

### MAJOR BERRY

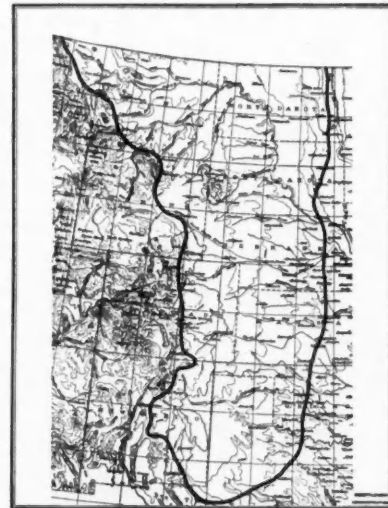
As the parties to the dispute over reform of the Supreme Court begin to organize their forces, it appears that one of the principal defenders of the President's program will again be Major George L. Berry, who did a great deal to swing votes to the President during the election campaign last summer. Now it is announced that Labor's Nonpartisan League, of which Major Berry is chairman, will meet in Washington to pledge the support of 3,000,000 workers to the President's plan.

Major Berry's career has been typically American; from the poorest beginnings he has worked up to a position of leadership and financial success. A printer by trade, he became an active trade unionist in San Francisco, and in 1907 was elected president of the Printing Pressmen's Union, which then numbered about 15,000 members. Today Major Berry is still president of his union.

### SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. What is at the basis of the dissatisfaction among the Balkan states?
2. Why do Austria and Hungary want the postwar treaties revised?
3. With what kind of problems is the National Resources Committee concerned? Why is the land problem in the United States so important?
4. What factors in the European situation have led to Great Britain's decision to speed up her arms program? How does this affect the League of Nations?
5. What demands have been made by the United Mine Workers in its negotiations with the coal operators?

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** Manuel Quezon (mah-noo-el' kay-zone'), Senjuro Hayashi (sen-joo-ro ha-yah'shee'), Versailles (vair-si-i as in ice).



THE GREAT PLAINS REGION AS CONSIDERED IN THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT



# Making Plans for the Future — A Fundamental National Problem

(Concluded from page 1)

trying to get a picture of what their separate communities may be like in 10 or 20 or more years, provided thought is taken and plans are made in advance. The state and local committees keep in touch with the national committee and cooperate wherever cooperation is mutually advantageous.

But this description has been of a very general nature. Let us inquire in a little more detail about the nature of the work which these committees do. For one thing, they plan public works. In normal times, that is, during years when there is no depression, the national, state, and local governments construct public buildings to the value of about two and a half billion dollars a year. The national government builds post offices, federal court houses, arsenals, and so on. The states construct university buildings, asylums, prisons, and many other kinds of buildings. The local governments build schools, court houses, bridges, and so on. But this building is usually not planned in advance. Some single need presents itself, money is appropriated, and the work is done. Possibly a little later on even greater need appears, and there is no money

eat. Without a fertile soil and self-renewing forests, the splendor of our bankrupt cities will become a ghastly joke. Armies and navies cannot defend a nation against the scourge of wind and flood; constitutions and courts have no authority over natural law. Any nation whose land naturally tends to turn into desert must either take measures to preserve the land or it will surely die."

## Experts at Work

So the National Resources Committee has a body of experts studying the problem of soil conservation as it manifests itself in the different parts of the country. After the studies are made, the plans can be used by the national government when it sets out on a program of soil conservation. The states and local communities also receive expert advice as to what should be done locally. The whole plan is worked out on a national scale, so that all the different governing bodies can cooperate in this great task.

Closely allied to the question of land use is the problem of the water resources. The national committee studies the problem of each river basin, and determines what may be done in order to obtain the greatest amount of water power, in order to secure the most effective guarantee against flood loss and in order to have the greatest benefits from the water in every way.

Flood prevention is, of course, a great problem, but it is one that no one community can solve by itself. A city may build dykes and try to protect itself, but if no measures of control are taken upstream, the water may pour down in such a torrent as to make all efforts at protection unavailing.

There needs to be a general survey of the whole watershed to see what should be done all along the line; the planting of trees in one section, perhaps, the building of dams at another, and dykes at a third. The national committee is cooperating with state and local committees in planning the harnessing of all the waters of the nation.

These are but a part of the activities of the National Resources Committee. It has done many other things. It has cooperated in helping to solve the problem of farm tenancy; it is making a survey of the population and its trends; of the consuming power of the nation, and it is doing a great many other things along this general line.

## Local Problems

But let us consider briefly what the state planning boards are doing. The Iowa Board, to take one example, is studying the educa-



UNFINISHED BUSINESS

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch



—Mississippi Valley Committee  
CONTROLLING EROSION BY STRIP CROPPING

to supply it. Buildings, streets, roads, post offices are built without sufficient knowledge of their adequacy for future requirements.

## Government's Dilemma

When the government decided a few years ago to assist in the construction of public works in order to give jobs to the unemployed, it was found that projects could not be constructed quickly because no plans had been made in advance and the plans could not be formulated in a hurry.

Under the direction of the National Resources Committee, the hundreds of state and local committees have made out lists of public improvements the different communities will need, placing those most urgently and immediately needed first. The least needed have been weeded out, and desired improvements have been listed. The list is now down to such a size that all the most necessary work can be done within the next few years if ordinary expenditures are made. The national government will use this list of needed improvements in making its plans for public work relief. State and local governments may use it in planning their programs.

Probably more important are the studies of land uses. There is enough land in America suitable for crops and grazing so that an increasing population may be supplied for years to come. But that will depend upon the care of the soil. At present, it is being worn away by erosion. Millions of tons are being blown away in dust storms and other millions of tons are being washed away by rains and floods. "By the normal processes of our farming, our mining, and our lumbering, we create a desert," says one of the reports of the National Resources Committee. "Americans need to realize that all other national hopes and aspirations are secondary to the question of whether we can continue to



—Courtesy National Resources Committee

TO PLAN PROPERLY IT IS NECESSARY TO DEAL IN TERMS OF NATURAL REGIONS

tional facilities of the state to determine what the future needs are. It is trying to find out what the high schools are doing for students. It is studying the work of health agencies, recreational needs, the need of social security legislation; it is making an investigation of the causes of traffic accidents; the use of land in cities and country, farm tenancy, and so on.

In Indiana, members of the state planning board visit each county and study such problems as housing, health, highways, conservation, recreation, education, methods of handling public works, and so on. County planning boards are encouraged to bring their counties up to the highest levels along these lines.

Not only the nation, states, and counties, but cities as well, are looking forward to future needs. They have committees of experts on the job of planning, so that growth will be systematic and in the public interest, rather than merely haphazard. The National Resources Committee has published a bulletin of over 60 pages, describing the plans for building, traffic, recreation, education, health, beauty, and so on, that have been developed by the planning board of St. Louis. This is but an example of what is being done all over the country.

## Future Possibilities

The idea behind this impressive planning movement is that experts should be always on the job studying the human and material resources of every part of the country, so that the most can be had from the soil and water, so that land may be used to the best advantage, so that public improvements may be well planned, so that the whole development of the nation may be carefully considered and wisely directed.

These experts, of course, do not decide public policies. That is done by city councils, state legislatures, the national Congress, and other representatives of the people. The planning boards merely offer their expert assistance, so that those who formulate policies may have the best possible information at hand and may be able to decide more wisely. The extent to which governmental authorities use these planning agencies will naturally depend upon public opinion.

If the people of any community are to plan intelligently for the future, they must learn how to benefit from the experience of other progressive communities. They must have at hand facts about the things that cities and counties are doing all over the country. It is information of this kind that the National Resources Committee is in a position to furnish.

It has, to give but one illustration, made a study of the work that various local governments are doing in supplying recreational facilities to their people. By referring to information furnished by this national organization, local leaders may learn of the experience of Dutchess County, New York, where a large expenditure was made for recreation, with

the result that there was a marked falling off in juvenile crime. This county has not spent more money than many other counties; it has simply found that it can spend the money on recreation rather than crime prevention. By making use in this way of the experience of the rest of the country, through the help of a national clearing house of social information, every city, town, and county in the nation may raise its standards of efficiency and social service.

## POLITICS IN THE BALKANS

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part of the Balkans and in checking German and Italian influence in the whole area.

Italy has been building up her position in Austria and Hungary, and undermining that of France in Yugoslavia. The Germans have been reviving their former dreams of absorbing Austria and dominating the Balkan peninsula. Until a few months ago, Italy opposed the expansion of German influence. Last autumn, however, Mussolini and Hitler agreed to work together to promote their "parallel and not conflicting interests," which meant cooperating to increase their influence at the expense of France and Russia.

Thus the Balkan countries are being drawn into the struggle between the great fascist and anti-fascist powers. The pressure from outside to join in a general war would be very great. The antagonisms in the Balkans still are strong, and they would tend to flare up if a general war should start. The Balkan leaders have accomplished a good deal in the last few years, however, toward settling the disputes between their countries. They may or may not be statesmanlike and strong enough to keep the Balkans on the sidelines if a war should come in western Europe. But even if they guide their countries wisely, there is always the danger that social and economic pressure, both from within and without, will eventually force them to take sides.



THE COVERED WAGON

—Elderman in Washington Post